

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

Christmas Commentary

By MAURICE CRANSTON

CHRISTMAS is the season of platitudes. We say what we have learned to say; we hear what we are used to hearing. It is nowadays a pagan feast, but so pleasantly and respectably pagan that most of us actually believe it is Christian. Over the past century, Dickens' gospel of gay goodfellowship has dispelled the solemnity that might otherwise attend the day; Prince Albert's Christmas trees have grown enough to hide the crib of Bethlehem; and even the religious carol has come to be superseded by a crooner's music.

"I'm wishing you," the doleful baritone affirms, "a White Christmas." Crosbymas, on the bounty of Father Strachey's sack, is the festival that is now upon us. For children, of course, it is fun; and that perhaps, for them, is all that matters. It is possibly difficult for them to disentangle the Santa Claus mythology from the great historical truth that Jesus was born in Palestine at this season 1,948 years ago; but at least the child's delight is coupled with a sense of awe which is absent from our adult celebrations. Perhaps it is as well we do not think too much about the birth of Christ, for such thoughts may soon give rise to others, sobering, disquieting, challenging.

The Jewish triumph

THIS Christmas of 1948 is a particularly important anniversary. For this year the Jewish Kingdom, or least a Jewish State, a Jewish realm, a Jewish Reich has risen at last in Palestine. The task to which many of his contemporaries thought Jesus had been called has been finally accomplished by others. Jesus repudiated this vocation, and those who have rebuilt Israel in 1948 repudiated Jesus. Violence has fulfilled the racial mission which He forsook to serve and save humanity without regard to race.

"Force alone," writes the *News Chronicle*, a paper sympathetic to the nationalist aspirations of the Jews, "rules in Palestine today."

It rules not only because the Islamic world is decadent, but because the Christian West is weak and divided and muddled; because, in fact, Christian civilisation is itself approaching disintegration. Threatened from without by the anti-Christian barbarism of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Christian West is in even greater danger from its own inner weakness and decay.

The beginning of the end

I DO not think it is difficult to point to the date when that inner decay set in: 1914. Nor difficult to see that the two world wars have done more than any single historical factor to destroy men's belief in the love of God and the wisdom of the Church. Although the discoveries of science in the nineteenth century did much to shake the faith of thinking people in the dogmas of the Church, I do not think the triumph of science can be regarded as the cause for the modern decay of religion. For there is nothing in scientific discovery, properly regarded, which is incompatible with the central message of Christianity, and much that has been discovered empirically by modern psychologists, for example, was pronounced *a priori* by Jesus Himself. No, it is not science we can point to, to explain the rot, but worldly values—by which I mean, the acquisitive ethos of capitalist society—and, more concretely, war.

Twenty years ago, when as a boy at Sunday school I used to give my

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

CAN TRUMAN TAME THE MILITARISTS?

TRUMAN'S big issue during the next few months is whether the civil branches of the U.S. Government are going to control foreign policy, as the Constitution provides, or whether the military branches will consolidate their dominance. And unfortunately, nobody can be sure the President sees the question independently, since he has been so closely under the tutelage of the military planners.

Mr. Truman's desire for peace is undoubtedly sincere; but one of the best ways not to get it is to leave it to men whose training and instincts are all on the military side.

SPINE-CHILLING PROPOSALS

In no other country are military technicians permitted to go wholesale into the Press with inflammatory war-breeding, spine-chilling proposals for the decimation of foreign cities and peoples, or plans for the adoption of a foreign policy based on war. We have come a long way from the declaration, signed by Washington, that we shall not use war as an instrument of foreign policy; the threat of war as an instrument of policy infuses the whole attitude America exhibits to the world. Nothing is doing the American people more harm in world opinion; nothing so buttresses the propaganda

others of a precisely contrary nature. No wonder that a Frenchman, when recently asked if it wasn't pretty serious to have eight different governments since the end of the war, replied: "It's not much worse to have eight governments with the same general policy than to have one government with eight different policies all the time!"

How far the drive for military control of foreign affairs has gone may be seen in a sweet little plan now taking shape at Washington. The idea is this: whatever peace proposals are made at Paris, whatever concessions offered by the Russians (if any), do not accept them before next spring. Do not get manoeuvred into discussions out of which a Berlin solution may emerge. Wait until the re-arming of Western Europe has reached the place of real strength; wait until our overseas air bases have all been made fully ready for war; wait until Europe has become reconciled to the diversion of Marshall Plan assistance to military expenditures. Then confront the Russians with a virtual ultimatum. It would be too much to say that this ghoulish scheme has commanded the support of top military officials; but the scheme exists, is being extensively promoted, and is being tactfully pushed on Mr. Truman.

BLACK MARKETEER

High-minded army officers are not rare, and some of them are as worried about the present trend as any civilian. I recently talked with an officer of the greatest integrity, whose job it was, following V-E Day, to impress on American soldiers in Germany the vital importance of refraining from black marketeering or from disposing of their modest possessions at exorbitant rates either to the German people or to troops of Allied countries. Yet right in the middle of this campaign, a high officer came to Berlin, sold his watch openly in the market place to a Soviet soldier for £75, then went about boasting of his triumph. This officer is close to the President, by the way, and the betting in Washington is that he will soon be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

MILITARY FOLLY

The folly of the present drive for the militarisation of West Europe becomes patent when you examine the actual situation. The supplementary force that can be built of European personnel armed with American weapons, is 45 divisions, or something under 500,000 men. Russia now has about 3,500,000 under arms, some of them fairly well equipped. In short, if Russia really wants war, there is nothing that can prevent her from winning the first round and driving far towards the Channel. But if Russia does not want war—and there are overwhelming reasons for such a belief—she will never attack even a token force stretching from Trieste up through Austria and to Berlin.

A sane policy would seize every opportunity for a peaceful settlement

Over 1,000 at Glasgow Rally

MORE than a thousand people filled the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, for the Peace Demonstration organised by the Glasgow Group of the Peace Pledge Union last Sunday.

The meeting, addressed by Rhys Davies MP, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, and Sybil Morrison, Campaign Organiser, provided ample evidence of Glasgow's support and enthusiasm for the PPU's campaign.

A full report of the meeting and details of the resolutions, passed with only one dissentient, will appear in next week's Peace News.

Dr. A. D. Belden was the speaker on the previous Thursday at a meeting at Newcastle, taking the place, at very short notice, of Sybil Morrison who was recovering from an attack of influenza.

now, however inadequate from the long-term point of view. A sane policy would desist from terrifying the great mass of Europeans into the belief that Vishinsky's charges have a factual basis. A sane policy would keep American foreign affairs where they legally belong—in the hands of civilians. The crucial thing in a possible war would be the loyalty to America of the vast sections of the globe which fears Communism, but which, as things are going, have little more confidence in Washington. The issue is: how sane can Washington be kept by the pressure of public opinion backed by a constitutional approach towards foreign policy.—*Worldover Press*.

KAREL CAPEK

1890—1938



(Photo: Fr. Borovy, Prague.)

Capek (left) with Czechoslovakia's first President, T. G. Masaryk. This photograph was taken in 1928 when Capek was collecting material for "President Masaryk tells his Story," the book in which he was able to pay a tribute to the statesman whose humanitarian views and political outlook he shared.

An appreciation of Czechoslovakia's foremost modern writer, by George Woodcock, appears on page three.

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NATIVITY

*"But man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before
high heaven
As make the angels weep."*

COULD the angels revisit Palestine this Christmas, they would surely weep. And the state of Palestine is only the state of the world at large. The wise men silenced, the shepherds huddled in displaced persons' camps—would they find anyone, anywhere, to listen to their message of peace?

Of course they would. Men of goodwill are not lacking. What is lacking in the world today is rather the message itself, or the messengers, to convert goodwill into the will to good. For goodwill alone cannot save the world.

Goodwill by itself is powerless. Man is head as well as heart, intellect as well as emotion; and until the two are in harmony, he is blown this way and that by every wind of doctrine. He needs the discipline and direction of a creed.

Yet there is something indecent in the haste with which the Churches today are trying to cash in on our need. Humanism has failed, they say; the man-made religions of the twentieth century likewise. All this is proof that only the Christian revelation will suffice. From pride, vanity and self-confidence, good Lord deliver us!

It is proof of nothing of the sort. "A man's religion," said Carlyle, "consists not in the many things he thinks he believes, but in the few things he cannot help believing"; and Christianity is more than the reaffirmation of man's true calling, to "become a son of God."

Do the stories which will be recited throughout the Christian world this Sunday—of the wise men, the shepherds and the angels, of the child born to a Virgin in the manger at Bethlehem—belong to the category of things we cannot help believing? They do not. Not one person in ten thousand, whether inside or outside the churches, really believes in any of them. What we find is, at most, "that willing suspense of disbelief which constitutes poetic faith," and upon such poetic faith no genuine conviction can be founded.

That is why, we believe, the Church cuts so little ice in this wintry world of ours. How else can we account for the fact that a great and centralised institution, with a building and a full-time paid propagandist in every parish of Europe, cannot even prevent its members butchering one another as often as they feel in the mood?

Cardinal Newman described the Church in her prime: "her power, weak as she was, over the statesmen and philosophers of the world—her consistent and steady aggression upon it, moving forward in spite of it on all sides at once, like the wheels of the Prophet's vision, and this in contrast with the ephemeral and variable outbreaks of sectarianism—the unanimity and intimacy existing between her widely-separated branches—the mutual sympathy and correspondence of men of hostile nations and foreign languages—the simplicity of her ascetics, the gravity of her Bishops, the awful glory shed around her martyrs. . . ." We look for such a body in the contemporary world in vain.

The creeds that appeal to the head end by violating the heart, and the creed which appeals to the heart—beautiful and significant though it is—no longer satisfies the head. We must wait in patience for the Child to be re-born, in us.

All is grist...

THOSE who revert to their Pickwick this Christmas will, I fear, read with mingled envy and despair of that bowl, "something smaller than an ordinary wash-tub," with which Mr. Wardle regaled his guests.

"Fill up," cried Wardle, "It will be two hours good, before you see the bottom of the bowl through the deep rich colour of the wassail." Those were the days!

Those were the days, before tied houses and licensing hours bore melancholy witness to the triumph of monopoly capitalism in the Brewing Industry; when restrictive practices were still unknown, and that decline in the values of the spirit which, as Wilfred Welloch indicated in his Commentary last week, makes it necessary for a man to buy three times the amount of "Alcoholic Beverages" he was buying only ten years ago.

For in the days when wassail was wassail, and the bowl had some real punch in it, distilling was still a craft, prosecuted with a craftsman's pride—with that sense of "personal responsibility and creative opportunity, and even of spiritual values," which, Mr. Welloch rightly insists, belongs only to the small workshop and the small social unit.

Nothing, indeed, could illustrate more aptly the present tendency of Socialism, not to undo but to overdo the evils of capitalism, than the measure debated in the Commons last week, to nationalise the pubs. If "the real job of Government should be to facilitate this kind of personal and social functioning," then Labour ought rather to be repealing that ban on private distilleries which has so long held this country in thrall. Not until every man can once again pride himself on its own local and particular brand of ale or sack, will the world be made safe for Pickwickians.

I HAVE not read Prof. P. M. F. Blackett's book, "The Military and Political Consequences of Atomic

Energy," and would not be qualified to judge it if I had. But if there are any serious flaws in its argument, they were certainly not revealed by Mr. Frederick Osborne in his broadcast discussion with Prof. Blackett last week.

Mr. Osborne did, however, reveal quite a number of other things, in particular, the reason why the debates of the Atomic Energy Commission had made such singularly little progress—and that was perhaps his main object. Advancing his criticism behind a smoke-screen of rhetorical irrelevancies directed at the unseen audience—a criticism which amounted, in the end, to "Well, you ought not to say such things anyway"—he brought the very atmosphere of UNO to the microphone.

Listening, one could only conclude that, if the U.S. Government was really as anxious to reach an agreement as he maintained, there was one quite simple way in which it could prove it: by replacing its present representative on the Commission by somebody who at least understands what an argument is, and can reply with some show of reason to a case that is reasonably presented.

PERHAPS, however, the U.S. Government is wise in its generation. For the inconsequential debates at UNO are valuable to the peace of the world precisely because they are inconsequential. That is why the latest Scandinavian proposal to reduce the amount of time wasted strikes me as so terribly dangerous. As things are, no Power can go to war without bringing its case to the Assembly, and by the time the Assembly has done with it, the public has so lost interest (as in the Berlin dispute) that it will no longer serve as a *casus belli*. Procrastination is UNO's *raison d'être*. The attempt to save time would be false, even fatal, economy. UNO can only succeed if it fails.

SOME little time ago, I was introduced to a dear old lady who recalled how, when she was skipping in Cheyne Row as a child, she had been stopped and given a penny by Mr. Carlyle. How strange it seemed, and

Voluntary service

LAURENCE HOUSMAN (PN Dec. 3) has "come to the conclusion that the root of true pacifism is voluntary service—national and international."

I agree. But in what sense does he write, "Economically we are on the verge of bankruptcy, from which only a greatly increased sense of service to the Community will save us."

In a recent broadcast it was said:

"Britain gains by importing a large part of her agricultural requirement. Instead of employing more people in agriculture she makes manufactured goods for export. By this means the output of the British worker can be exchanged through foreign trade for a larger amount of agricultural produce than the same British worker could produce if he were employed on a farm at home. . . . In almost all countries output per head in agriculture is far lower than in manufacturing industry."

Therefore the argument is—avoid producing food. It is true that the great need of the world today is for more food. But to avoid bankruptcy the idea here is to make and export cars to America—that is coals to Newcastle. For Britain to put more labour into growing food would—so the national economists tell us—not improve our economic position; the idea it to do what pays—not to do voluntary service.

The IVSP is doing good work but it has its limitations. It does not touch the spot for the university student to spend a few weeks of vacation with the IVSP while in the main training to get a well-paid post. Voluntary service in that case is merely a short interlude and not a vocation.

What is essential from a pacifist point of view is that Voluntary Service should be a vocation in the sense of one's life work. In that case one might well refuse to be directed because one would know, as far as one can know, that one was serving one's

generation. And it is doubtful if a governmental authority would think it desirable to direct one to other employment. If it did one might have a sound ethical foundation on which to maintain one's refusal to be directed. And governments are sometimes chary of challenging a sound ethical position.

B. J. OVER.
Bleadon,
Weston-super-Mare.

LETTERS

These helped

FOR many pacifists 1948 has been a sore trial and our faith has been sternly tested.

For myself, two things published in November by Peace News have helped considerably.

One was a letter by Hideke Inouie (Nov. 19), a young Japanese schoolgirl who sought the friendship of an ex-enemy despite losing her right hand through a bomb explosion. One of her sentences can be a challenging slogan for all pacifists: "How do we arrange that it might be Spring for all the world?"

The other was the PN pamphlet "Out of the Ruins" based on a diary by Gerhard Mackenroth. If he can hope after losing home, wife and children, why cannot we?

Thanks for the words of these two brave people.

GLYN BEVAN.
19a Well Place, Cwmbach
Aberdare, Glam.

The Byrd Mass

IN his review of the Morley College concert in the Central Hall, Mr. Holmes expresses a wish that the Byrd Mass For Five Voices had been sung without a conductor. Assuming

GROWING CIRCLE

I DO not intend to use this column this week for a direct appeal for funds. Those of our many friends who may wish to utilise this festive occasion by sending us a goodwill offering towards our work for peace will, I know, do so. I do, however, wish to thank our many and growing circle of friends for their continued help without which we would not be enabled to carry on. Your faith in our message has given us the strength to carry on during difficult and trying times and I want to say "Thank you" to you all and to ask you to accept my warmest greetings for Xmas and the New Year.

MAUD ROWNTREE,
Treasurer.

Contributions since Dec. 3: £8 16s. 9d.
Total for 1948: £230 19s. 2d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

new! Carlyle was born in 1795—the same year as Keats. I felt as though I were shaking hands across the centuries. And yet there must be thousands of people who can still remember him. It is queer what a canyon the Thirty Years' War seems to have carved between ourselves and the Victorian era.

I wonder whether this is partly responsible for the fascination which the Monarchy still exerts for the English people—a fascination reflected once again, as I write, in the pictures of bonny Prince Charlie occupying the front page of nearly all the dailies. The Monarchy does stand for stability and continuity, in a world where very little else seems now to be stable or continuous. Splendid and homely, venerable and a trifle absurd, it just goes on and on. . . . And we are all glad King George is going to broadcast on Christmas Day, even those of us who would never dream of listening.

TWO-THIRDS of the National Service men in the Royal Navy, the News Chronicle reports (Dec. 16), will be selected for a special officers' training course. "All successful candidates will have to join the RNVR and accept the normal liabilities of Volunteer Reserve Officers."

The Miller

that conductors fulfil some useful function in the performance of music, the need for one in a polyphonic work of this nature is paramount. Even an "assured" and "self-disciplined" choir such as the Morley one, could not successfully perform such music unless the work were as familiar as the canticles and responses are to a church choir. The technical problems alone, such as the concealed entries of voices and the subtleties of changes in tempo, make far greater demands on the conductor than those of a later work such as Mozart's Coronation Mass.

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A writer of immense significance
in the crisis of our modern world

KAREL CAPEK

1890 — 1938

KAREL CAPEK, one of the most personally admirable, if not one of the greatest, writers of the age between the Great Wars, died ten years ago, on Christmas Day, 1938.

It was the year of Munich; his country of Czecho-Slovakia, to whose liberation and building into a nation he had contributed so much, was in the process of dismemberment, and, although the physicians said that he died of pneumonia, there were many of his friends who were quick to decide that he had died of a "broken heart," of the sheer lack of will to live. It may have been so, for people do die in this way; but in minds like Capek's there is usually a resilience which, however much it may be shaken by events, seeks always to begin the fight anew at some new line of struggle.

For the passing triumph of totalitarianism came as no surprise to Capek, who, indeed, had perhaps played a greater part than most other writers in warning Europe of the dangers that lay in a too easy acceptance of the regimentation of the modern state. Man turned into a machine, man degraded into the soulless unit of a nation of higher ants, was a perpetual nightmare to him. It was he who first introduced into our language the word "robot," and the monstrous vision which he portrayed in his play *RUR*, of Rossum's Universal Robots finally exterminating mankind and establishing a world empire of automatons, was no merely idle scientific fantasy. What Capek saw was not merely the danger of man being dominated by machines; it was also the even more horrifying threat of man himself, in a world of military and industrial regimentation, losing his own humanity in subservience to a mechanical pattern of life.

Already in 1921, before Mussolini or Hitler came to power, before the totalitarian tendencies behind Russian Communism had become as obvious as they are today, he had seen an equally terrible vision of mankind as a world of ants driven to self-destruction in blind obedience to mass impulses.

These two plays were not the only works in which Capek appeared as a jesting but deadly serious prophet; foreteller of the disasters which lay in the future for mankind if it became dominated by political or scientific developments not sufficiently subordinated to humane values. Such novels as *The Meteor*, *War with the Newts* and *Krakatit*, not so well known to English readers as the two plays I have discussed, carry the lesson further, the last having a particularly topical flavour as a prophecy of atomic war.

Gloomy forebodings, but . . .

Yet, though Capek had gloomy forebodings of the future that lay ahead for humanity, he did not become embittered or lose all faith in life. *RUR* ends in the astonishing appearance of love among robots, as a sign that the most ruthless regimentation cannot defeat permanently man's essential soul, and once, in *Travels to the North*, Capek remarked:

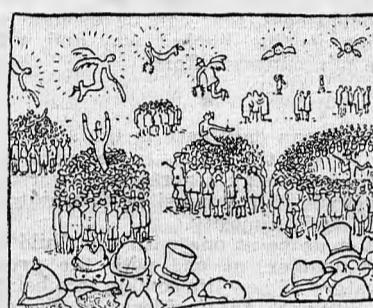
"Some day perhaps our planet will grow old, or we human beings may look after it, and make such a mess of the world that there will not even be any sea-gulls to cry over the waters; but even if we cut ourselves into little bits, we could not injure the greatness of the world. I know that that is no material comfort; we live in evil times, and our hearts are cramped with sorrow; but the world is great."

Capek was essentially gentle, generous and humble. If he saw the terrible dangers of armies and embattled States, he saw also the beauty of the little things of life and of the actions of common man. He detected the true greatness of a people like the Dutch in their concern for things which have a real human meaning, "butter and scholarship, narcissus bulbs and workmen's dwellings." Besides his warnings of the wrath to come, he wrote books which reflected

CAPEK THE CARTOONIST.

Two cartoons drawn by Karel Capek when in England. Right: Oxford Street. Below: Spouter's Corner, Hyde Park.

From Capek's "Letters from England,"
Geoffrey Bles, Ltd.



all the enjoyment of a gentle humorist in the details and situations of ordinary living, and a deep understanding of the minds of ordinary people. Novels about Central European peasants, like *Hordubal*, and collections of essays like *Intimate Things* show the kind of life which Capek thought worth preserving from the domination of the robots or the invasion of ants.

No national hatreds

Despite his great love for Bohemia, Capek was devoid of any national hatreds, and acutely aware of the merits of other peoples. Once he said: "The finest landscape I have seen is in Italy, the finest life I have observed is in France, the finest people I have met are in England; but it is only in my own country that I can live." He loved Czechoslovakia, but he realised that its independence would be fruitful only in a world united by mutual trust and toleration. The depth of his understanding is shown by the fact that in 1936, when Nazism was already threatening to give reality to his worst dreams, he could still distinguish the German people from the German militarists, and say, "It is

a splendid and brave race, which loves freedom and peace . . ."

Capek was perhaps not in the highest rank of writers. The subject and nature of his most celebrated books immediately provokes a comparison with Wells and Shaw. Although it is difficult to judge completely from translations, his plays do not seem to have the same rich interplay of ideas as those of Shaw, or his novels the same imaginative conviction as those of Wells. But he had more tolerance and real human insight than either of them.

His warnings stand

Capek represents an age when nationalism still had a historical meaning; today it is merely a barrier to that international community which is more than ever the only insurance against destruction in the modern world. In his own country the nationalism he did so much to foster has become a part of the totalitarian pattern; Capek could not have foreseen that his countrymen would in their turn become the ruthless persecutors of German minorities. But, if some of the things he represented have failed, his warnings against mechanical and regimented ways of life, his love of little pleasures and people, his innate sense of fellowship between men of all lands, still make him a writer of immense significance in the crisis of our modern world.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Britain and the United Nations, Demy 8vo. 40 pp. (HMSO, 1s.)

A brief description of the foundation and work of the United Nations, emphasising the contribution which has been made by Great Britain. The facts and figures given are impressive, but to put them into proper perspective comparative information for other nations would be required.

The intransigence of the Soviet

Union, which has made things so

difficult in the General Assembly and

Security Council is detailed and con-

demned, but it is affirmed that, in the

words of Air Vice-Marshal Bennett.

we too are "supporting" the United

Nations not blindly or pacifistically,

but in a tough, hard-boiled and real-

istic way." Hum!

The Christian View of the World, by H. J. Dale, 4 pp. (Author 2d.).

A rather nebulous summary of a sermon preached on the text "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof: the World and they that dwell therein" suggesting, among other things, that we cannot have armaments and food—it must be one or the other.

Land Value Reform, by James Dundas White. Cr 8vo. 64 pp & cover. (Land and Liberty Press Ltd., 2s.).

On the first of July this year there was carried out one of the greatest

land reforms in the history of our country, but few radicals or socialists are satisfied. This pamphlet argues again the case for all land being subject to an annual rent payable to the public exchequer, and sets out draft legislation which could effect this. Worth reading if you are interested in the subject.

T. R. D.

(Other recent publications are reviewed on page four)

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Dec. 23, 1938

I remember a wise friend of mine listening patiently to me, when as a boy of 14 I told him that I intended to become a parson, and then saying, "Well, my advice to you is, don't go in for the ministry if you can possibly keep out of it." I have proved the wisdom of that somewhat curiously phrased remark, and I would proffer similar advice. The cause to which we are committed can only make effective use of those who have come in because they can't possibly stay out . . .

Once a traveller is convinced that the road he is treading is a blind alley which cannot possibly bring him to his journey's end, he will have but one objective—to get off that false road, at all costs and at once. The issue between non-pacifism and paci-

December 24, 1948, PEACE NEWS—3

China Sidelight

A FANTASTIC story—of Big Business greed, State Department folly, and gigantic robbery of American taxpayers—is told in a Washington newspaper.

The story was written by a man who spent weeks roaming around Pacific islands, investigating a strange deal in which \$500 million of Uncle Sam's "surplus property" was turned over to the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek.

Right now, some American newspapers and members of Congress are complaining that Uncle Sam has not helped Chiang enough. This story conflicts with such claims. Boiled down, it gives this picture:

Early in the war, the State Department fixed up a gift of \$500 million American gold to China, to "support" Chinese money, which was becoming worthless. This effort proved useless, and so did several other large gifts to China, whose money kept on skidding downward.

KEPT SECRET

Instead of learning by experience, the State Department tried another trick, which has been kept secret from the American people.

In addition to the gifts, Uncle Sam spent millions during the war to help China, and that country, owed the United States a huge debt. The State Department ignored that, and claimed Uncle Sam owed Chiang's government a \$100 million debt, which was completely "phony."

To pay that "debt" to Chiang, the Department arranged to give China, at a few cents on the dollar, \$500 million worth of American supplies left on the Pacific islands after the war. These supplies included everything from lorries, tractors, cars, planes, weapons, scrap steel and so on down to machine tools, building materials and clothing. Much of all this was brand new.

U.S. PAYS

In addition, Uncle Sam is paying China \$30 million to haul the stuff away from the islands.

In some cases, ships leave for China carrying the same kinds of equipment which, at the same time, are being unloaded from other ships at the same dock—brought from the United States for use on the same island.

When these goods get to China, the writer reports, they are simply piled up mountain high at Shanghai and a few other cities, to rust and rot. Little of the stuff has been used by the Chinese.

INCREDIBLE EMBARGO

Some, however, has been sold back to American companies, by the Chinese, at a great profit to someone in China.

That suits the State Department, because its idea was that Chiang's government could, by selling the goods, get American money to "support" the Chinese money. The latter is more worthless now than ever.

Another reason why this fantastic deal was made, the writer says, is that American corporations did not want the stuff brought back to the U.S. because that would interfere with profits. The corporations wanted to sell new products to take the place of the things U.S. taxpayers had already paid for through wartime taxes.

As the writer says, "work clothing, scarce in the United States, is barred. Not even dental equipment can be returned to the United States, under this incredible American embargo against Americans."

—Socialist Call, Nov. 26, 1948.

fism is to me as clear cut as that; the world is on the wrong road—it is sheer waste of time to argue that by continuing along this wrong road for a bit, we may find the going easier and a short cut back to the right one. The thing to do is to call a halt by refusing to go further yourself, and to encourage others to do the same. Then there is the chance of finding the right road.

—Rev. Donald Soper, Fascism or Pacifism?—The Choice Before Us.

CHRISTMAS MEMORIES

by

Joe Watson

CHRISTMAS makes it easy for us to see folk as good folk, and kind folk, each with some endearing trait. There is an aura of good cheer about at this time of the year, which is infectious and gay, and tolerant. We can entertain the otherwise unentertainable, be gracious to the hitherto morose. The days seem lighter, the evenings warmer and kindly, and every little act has an element of adventure and the giving of happiness.

Incredible sentimentality? And why not? This is the kind of thing we need. If it be sentimentality, let us have it by the thousand gallons, by the millions of tons, with all the heart and mind can command. Holly and plum pudding, mistletoe and kisses, kids and laughter: there's nothing wrong with these things.

Hungry ones, well fed and well bred ones, they all partake of the feast. The Yuletide, whose spirit is equality and whose quality is spirit, it comes in all its prodigality to every living soul. For who dare say that Christmas is an affair for the rich, or for the poor? Rather is it the grand tree to which we all belong. The symbol of life. In living memory it held up a modern war!

THE memory of past Christmases ought to give us heart. We live in times when it is better to be smart and clever than kindly and courteous. In our despair we are almost ripe for the establishment of a Ministry of Cheer, with a State Santa Claus and carols spiced with propaganda. Instead of celebrating the birth of Christ we shall celebrate the end of make believe and memory. But here is a task for the pacifist, which he is both able and fitted to do, to rescue Santa Claus for posterity.

Mankind must and will have feasts and rejoicing. If Jesus had never been born we would have had to invent something of the kind. And its no use being clever and thinking because we know of a great human need and

International Library for Children

TWO years ago Mrs. Zella Lepman, an American, organised an international exhibition of books for children, which, in all parts of Germany, was enthusiastically welcomed and visited by large crowds.

Mrs. Lepman has now announced a plan to build up an "International Library for Children," with its centre in Munich. The plan aims at the creation of a library for children from 4—17 years of age, containing all kinds of youth and children's books from all over the world.

In connection with the library, which should serve as a centre for international understanding between the children of all nations, an international child psychology institute will be founded with the task of collecting the valuable material resulting from experiments to be carried out there. The information will be used to aid education throughout the world. Later this international youth centre will also promote friendly contacts by correspondence and by large meetings of children from the countries of Europe and other continents.

Mrs. Lepman expects to get the house she needs for this project from the Munich authorities.

Contact with this library can be made through Rolf Hoffmann, Angerweide 7, Starnberg/See, Bavaria, US Zone.

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how that need has created a legend, that we can afford to dismiss the legend. Maybe the cattle didn't go on their knees in adoration on that starlit night of two thousand years ago. Maybe they don't do it now, and never have done it. But it would be a grand thing for this world if people still believed it, or if some believed it, or if only pacifists believed it. Maybe the shepherds didn't hear the angels sing "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth Peace, Goodwill to all men." But the world would be a happier place and peace so much nearer if we could hear a heavenly chorus once again.

For what is it which comes between us and such stuff as dreams are made of? Turbulence and noise, din and unrest. Before we can create peace we have to simplify some of the issues which make for war. And in order to simplify an issue we have to win through to a simplicity of mind and a quietness of heart. We know that one can over-simplify a thing, and pretend it is easy when it is hard to do. But half the time it is because we drag our own complexities across a problem, because we are in a state of war within ourselves, that the problem and the remedy get so involved. The thrill of untangling a fantastically Gordian knot is not half so satisfying as the deep fulfilment

of having won through to a hold of the silver cord of life.

A birth in a stable is the highest manifestation of life we know. Stables, mangers, stars, shepherds, gifts, magi; they are within the reach of all. Goodwill to all men. One insists that if we could get through the iron curtain of vast organisation and complex state machinery, through to the innocent folk who are suffocated by restriction, goodwill would not be long in coming. So much in the present festive season can lift up the human heart that it would be sinful to refuse to be lifted up. Why be offset by doubts and misgivings? Birth is common to us all.

We are quick to agree that death is common to us all, so why not change the tune for a while? Not a house, not a person, but hasn't known birth. And no one, but at some time or another looks up to see a beauty they had never known before. Some newness, some line, a soft graciousness, that can be brought to being in the simplest way and with the minimum of effort.

YOU can only hate in the abstract. Given the necessity to work together, to play together, or worship together, it is impossible to maintain hate and animosity.

Let us be at one with the Child in the manger, at one with the great mystery of new life coming into being, at one with the incidents of the old

Words of Peace - No 255

FELLOWSHIP LIVES ON

Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell: fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them, and the life that is in it, that shall live on and on for ever, and each one of you part of it, while many a man's life upon the earth from the earth shall wane.

—William Morris. "A Dream of John Bull."

story, and we shall find ourselves at one with the world. The doors are no longer shut in the streets. The sound of the grinders is still. The pitcher goes to the well, and the silver cord is unbroken. Men live in charity one with another. Man, in his generosity is capable of a new movement towards integration. The daughters of music can be heard, for every little squeak of an urchin's throat can be wrought into pure strains and shaped into fresh patterns of delight.

The boy who longs for a motor car this year can make the picture of one satisfy his imagination. The girl who dreams of a doll can shape the rudest of clouts into the handsomest of fairies. Let you, then, adults, take this rude world and shape it to the heart's desire. It is what we have to come to, sooner or later. Let us celebrate the sweetest of memories by creating a peace which is the sweetest of all things. Being faithful to, and cherishing a memory, is the least we can do.

Publications Received

THE CHURCH RE-EDIFIED

IT is a surprising fact that the Church, through most of its long history, has evaded the question of pacifism. Even more baffling, that it seems to have been largely unaware of that interrogation directed at it from every chapter of the Gospels.

Now the Churches are challenged on one side by the indifference to religion of modern democracies, inheritors from the Reformation of a business-infected world, whose saints are film stars and whose feasts are cup finals, and on the other by totalitarians which are so clearly the result of Christendom's failure to be even humane. The danger is acute that the Church may disappear from History, or remain only a supporter,

giving a semblance of religion, to the hard grey men of reaction and privilege.

In this predicament the Church seems to be driven to self-examination, and is having difficulty in avoiding the question to which it has for so long been indifferent. Its drugged conscience is disturbed, and here perhaps is the one hopeful sign in these depressing days. For if the Churches could, by a collective experience like St. Paul's, seeing a bright light and hearing a voice, become pacifist, then the process of History would continue, and we could begin to hope. There would be a prophetic voice in the world again, a counterpoise to the cruel materialism underlying East and West alike. The Church, saving its soul, could save human society, or at least teach it how to die.

Meanwhile the pacifist minorities continue to provide a stream of literature to help the orthodox to their enlightenment. The Times of Jesus Christ, (FoR, 6d.), by A. G. Knott, is an excellent and instructive booklet on the historic setting of Jesus's life—passed, as Mr. Knott explains, in a country occupied by a harsh conqueror. This is a very apposite

production showing how the political-temporal problems were given spiritual and eternal answers by Christ.

This question is also treated in The Christian and Politics, by E. A. Collins (Christian Action Fellowship, 6d.) which, however, is an example of "avoiding-the-point" which pacifists often feel in non-pacifist Christian political writings.

The Significance of Jesus Christ for the World as it is Today, 3d., from the Society of Friends, contains Maude Brayshawe's recent BBC talk, which with typical Quaker serenity, put the appeal of Jesus' example in non-violence before her hearers.

Should Christians Fight? is a pamphlet of two short essays (G. W. Lamborn, 90 Louisville Road, Balham, unpriced) which, not attempting to be profound, raises sharply those simple questions from which many people's pacifist convictions have grown. Yet it is to these simple questions that sophisticated Church leaders must respond if they are to save us.

P.T.G.

The Perennial Pantomime

Cartoon by Arthur Bayntun.



GOEBBELS and the COs

THE two following extracts from "The Goebbels Diaries" are reproduced by permission of the publishers, Messrs. Hamish Hamilton Ltd. The editor and translator of the diaries, Louis P. Lochner, makes this comment on the first extract:

"The International Bible Students were a small sect claiming to be serious searchers into the truths of Holy Writ. The conception of 'conscientious objectors' was unknown to the Nazi."

JULY 28th, 1943.

"Himmler told me something about a question that is rather secondary; namely, that of the International Bible Students. These Bible Students are a queer mixture of contemporaries living outside our time. Their refusal to bear arms is usually not due to cowardice, but matters of principle. That's why Himmler rightly takes this view: objectors to military service who are beyond draft age should be put behind bars so that they cannot proselytise; objectors to military service, however, who are of draft age, should be condemned to death for cowardice and desertion. Some of them accept the death penalty with absolute stoicism. The older Bible Students are giving an excellent account of themselves in concentration camps and are exceptionally able and dependable workers; they give us the least trouble of anybody there."

SEPTEMBER 16th, 1943.

"A report was presented to me about the situation in our Universities. . . . The percentage of students of medicine is exceptionally high. I regard that as a very bad sign for the future of our young intellectuals. Students of medicine enjoy a period of exemption from service with the colours. The sudden rise in the number of medical students is therefore not only a sign of enthusiasm for the science of medicine, but also a lack of enthusiasm for fighting at the front."

DID BRITAIN DISARM?

The full text of correspondence between
EMRYS HUGHES, M.P. and the PRIME MINISTER

ON Nov. 15, 1948, Mr. Emrys Hughes asked the Prime Minister what reply he had made to the letter sent to him from the Society of Friends urging the Government to declare that this country will neither manufacture nor use atomic or bacterial weapons and calling for a drastic cut in armaments.

In his reply Mr. Attlee said that he had taken note of the views expressed in the minute enclosed with the letter, but that he was not convinced that a declaration of the kind proposed would achieve the purposes desired by the Friends.

Mr. Emrys Hughes immediately followed up with the supplementary question:

"Is not the Prime Minister aware that he is losing a splendid opportunity to give moral leadership to the world? Does he think that by making atomic bombs, and going in for bacterial warfare, we can add to the security of the country?"

The Prime Minister:

"My hon. Friend put two or three questions in one supplementary question. I have already explained that I do not think that this would be the best way of forwarding the aims of the Society of Friends. I think it is much better that we should seek to arrive at disarmament all round in these matters, rather than by a unilateral declaration, which has not proved effective in the past."

WHEN WAS IT?

Following this answer, Mr. Emrys Hughes sent the following to Mr. Attlee:

Nov. 18, 1948.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

In reply to a supplementary question that I asked on Nov. 15, you replied,

"I think it is much better that we should seek to arrive at disarmament all round in these matters, rather than by a unilateral declaration, which has not proved effective in the past."

I have been given to understand by the Clerk at the Table that the Rule of the House did not allow me to put down a further question.

I am writing to you, therefore, to ask if you would kindly say when, "the unilateral declaration which has not proved effective in the past," was made? I have not been able to trace any such declaration made by a British Government and I would be glad of your assistance.

Yours sincerely,
EMRYS HUGHES.

He received the following reply from Mr. Attlee's Parliamentary Private Secretary:

10 Downing Street,
Whitehall.

Nov. 22, 1948.

My Dear Emrys,

I have now shown the Prime Minister your letter of November 18. He asks me to explain that, although he may have put his point rather concisely in answering your supplementary, what he had in mind was the fact that, during the period between the first and second World Wars, there was actually unilateral disarmament on the part of this country, and experience proved that this did not have the kind of effect on the international situation which the Society of Friends would hope to see as the result of the kind of declaration which they now suggest."

Society of Friends would hope to see as the result of the kind of declaration which they now suggest.

Yours sincerely,
A. MOYLE.

To this Mr. Hughes sent the following letter:

House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.
Nov. 26, 1948.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
I wish to thank you for your letter of 22nd November in which you asked your Parliamentary Private Secretary to explain that, although you may have put your point rather concisely in answering the supplementary question, that what you had in mind was:

"The fact that, during the period between the first and second World Wars, there was actually unilateral disarmament on the part of this country, and experience proved that this did not have the kind of effect on the international situation which the Society of Friends would hope to see as the result of the kind of declaration which they now suggest."

I have followed statements made on Defence Estimates ever since the first World War, but do not recollect any statement of policy, or anybody speaking on behalf of a British Government declaring for unilateral disarmament.

£2,426,000,000

In order to ascertain the fact, I put down the following question on Nov. 25, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:

"To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, what was the total national expenditure on armaments and the armed forces between the World Wars."

I received the following reply:

"From 1922 to 1934, both inclusive, the net expenditure on defence remained at a fairly constant level and amounted to approximately £1,458,000,000, or an average of £112,000,000 per annum. In the next four years covering the rearmament period, expenditure on defence (including £193,000,000 met from the issues under the Defence Loan Act, 1937) amounted to £968,000,000, making a total for the whole period of £2,426,000,000. This excludes the transitional years immediately following the first World War, and the year 1939 in which the second began."

In view of the statement that between the Wars the total expenditure of the services and armaments amounted to a very large sum of £2,426,000,000 it is difficult to know what basis there is for the statement in your letter that "between the first and second World Wars there was actually unilateral disarmament."

On the contrary, the official figures show that we spent a huge sum on armaments which, indeed at the time, you yourself opposed.

The argument that Britain tried unilateral disarmament between the Wars, and failed, is so frequently used, that I would like to find out if there is actually any historical basis

Pacifist Profiles

XX

THE Ven. Percy Hartill, Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent, has done as much as any man since Dick Sheppard's death to make pacifism understood and respected by members of the Anglican Church.

Born in 1892, Percy Hartill entered New College, Oxford in 1911, and took First Class Honours in Theology in 1915. He also won two University Prizes in Theology and was awarded a Liddon Studentship. After a residence at Cuddesdon Theological College, he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Lichfield in 1916, and Priest the following year. He was subsequently to become Domestic

Chaplain to the Bishop, and Vice-Principal of Lichfield Theological College.

He was not, at that time, a pacifist. But the ill-health which had led to his being privately educated as a child, prevented him from serving with the Forces. From 1916 to 1920 he held a curacy in West Bromwich, where he returned as Vicar and Rural Dean: and during these years took an active part in the work of the League of Nations Union.

By the time he was transferred to Stoke-on-Trent in 1935, however, he was already associated with the



THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HARTILL

Peace Pledge Union. He was a speaker at the first Anglican Pacifist meeting ever held, in 1938, when Dick Sheppard took the chair, and joined the Governing Body of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship formed as a result of this meeting. Since 1939, he has been continuously Chairman of the Fellowship.

Percy Hartill is the author of several books and pamphlets including "The Necessity of Redemption," the thesis for which he was awarded the BD at Oxford, and "Pacifism and Christian Common-Sense." He also edited, and contributed essays to, the two symposiums issued by the APF, "Into the Way of Peace" and "On Earth Peace."

He has always been particularly interested in Christian missionary work, and one of the strongest reasons for his pacifism is the conviction that Christians who go to war with the Christians of other countries depart from Christ's injunction to "love one another as He had loved them," obscuring the Gospel of the Cross.

In June 1940, he led the pacifist deputation to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in response to which they reaffirmed the legitimacy of the pacifist position in the Church of England. More recently, he served on the Archbishops' Commission on Atomic Warfare, and contributed the minority note to its report, "The Church and the Atom," which even many non-pacifists acknowledged to come nearer the heart of the question than the pronouncements of the majority.

GREETINGS AND good wishes to all our friends. Merry Christmas. Urquie and Chris Collis, Pinehurst, Chambercombe, Ilfracombe.

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COMMENTARY CONTINUED

money for the missionaries, I naturally supposed that the frontiers of Christianity were expanding. I have lived to see those frontiers contract with astonishing speed since the War began in 1939. The opponents of Christ, whether Marxist or Zionist, whether Stalinist Orthodox or Titoist Dissenting, have capitals at Prague and Tel Aviv, at Warsaw and Sofia and Belgrade, at Budapest and Bucharest and who knows where in Asia too.

"Real pre-war, guv'nor"

YET Christmas is unaltered, the newspapers tell us. Fewer turkeys are to be had this year than last, but more port and tangerines and nuts; if everything is dearer than it was ten years ago, it is more plentiful than it was in the war.

"It's what I call a proper Christmas, guv'nor," said my greengrocer, who has no need to be a spiv since he makes a fortune honestly, "I've got pretty well everything here, like pre-war..."

Like pre-war? The judgment, I felt, was superficial, true of Covent Garden, perhaps, but not of the whole wide world. A post-war world can never be "like pre-war," for wars are events that cannot be obliterated or undone.

Christmas can be "like pre-war" precisely because Christmas has so slight an anchorage in the Christian faith, so small a connection with religious discipline and order. The pagan feast is affected by pagan factors: the quantity and quality of food and drink and noise. The crisis of Christendom is quite irrelevant, since Christmas isn't Christian in any real sense today.

Answers to critics

SINCE we are approaching the end of the year, this might not be an inappropriate time for me to comment on some of the criticisms that I have received, both through the correspondence columns and privately, of my Commentaries during the past three months. Many of these criticisms have puzzled me; either because I have not understood them or because I have entirely agreed with what has been said.

Most of my critics accuse me of being reactionary. If approval of Liberal and Social Democratic values, together with intense disapproval of Communist values, is reactionary, then I am reactionary. If a third world war comes I think it will be almost as much America's fault and ours as it will be Russia's, but already the Communist system seems to me positively evil in a way that the Democratic system is only mildly insufficient. As the crisis ripens I think a man has to decide either to support Communism or oppose it; I oppose it, and think it foolish to temporise.

At the same time, I believe that war and war preparations create precisely that atmosphere in which totalitarian ideology flourishes. The first world war gave us Fascism; the second, Communism. God alone knows what a third would produce. Because of such considerations and because I believe violence intrinsically wrong, I do not think the Liberal heritage can be defended by war.

Dangers of eccentricity

THIS leads me to the second line of criticism: I am said to adopt an illogical position. Since I have given most of my time in the last three years to a close study of logic, this charge does not surprise me. The logician is proverbially illogical in any utterance outside his province. If I may drop the word *logical* for the word *consistent*, I would agree that there is a certain obvious consistency between pacifism on the one hand and anarchism, vegetarianism, Romanticism, on the other. But such self-consistency is often purchased at the expense of consistency with the generality of human experience. And it is possibly more important to effect some sort of integration with one's fellow men than to pursue one's own inner integration.

I do not find it easy to rid myself of traditional values. Even so, I am obsessed by doubts, and I cannot help feeling a certain envy when I read in the letters of my correspondents, such phrases as "It is manifestly true that . . ." or "There is no doubt whatever that . . ." or "The weakest

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS FROM 3 CONTINENTS

From REV. A. J. MUSTE of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

MY very good wishes for the New Year go to the editor of Peace News and his colleagues and readers.

Within the limits of this greeting, there is no space even for a bare outline of what the New Year may have in store for the movement, or what we ought to do about it. I should like to mention one recent development here which seems to hold considerable promise for all of us.

I have thought for several years now that whether the non-violent revolution against war is possible or not depends to a great extent upon what the attitude of the intellectual and spiritual leadership in our countries is. The scientists, especially those who have worked on atomic weapons, constitute an important section of that leadership.

SCIENTISTS TO BE CO'S

The question whether scientists and technicians should not become "conscientious objectors" to the production of weapons of mass destruction has now been directly and effectively raised in the influential Bulletin of the Atomic scientists issued by means of a grant by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists headed by Albert Einstein. In the October 1948 issue appears a notable paper on *Freedom Demands Responsibility* by Drs. Cuthbert Daniel and A. M. Squires. Both are chemists of high standing who worked on the Manhattan (atomic bomb) Project, left it when they

heard what they had been working on, and have drawn steadily closer to the pacifist position.

The importance of the Daniel-Squires paper is emphasised by the comments on it in the same issue of the Bulletin by Prof. Eric Ashby of the University of Manchester; A. D. Ritchie, Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow; the July 17, 1948, statement of the French Association of Scientific Workers (PN Sept. 17) and others. The discussion is continued in the November issue by such men as Harold C. Urey and Norbert Wiener, the Harvard mathematical genius who is an outspoken CO.

The heart of the Daniel-Squires paper is in such sentences as these:

"National military strength will be incompatible with national security. . . . Ethical questions cannot be decided by first considering what the meanest man in the world will do, and by then emulating or outsmarting or appeasing him. . . . Key-groups of men can take a strong lead towards a change in the situation. . . . Scientists should now ask themselves, is not a change in their own behaviour and attitudes a precondition to the political change for which they ask."

One more item. A recent article in one of our mass circulation magazines quoted J. Robert Oppenheimer, top man at the Los Alamos atomic bomb project and Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton, on his formula for bringing up children: "Just pour the love in and it will come out." Oppenheimer has not given any sign that he understands that you cannot pour the love in with one hand and prepare to pour atomic bombs on with the other. But maybe it will dawn on him before long.

From J. C. KUMARAPPA, Organising Secretary of All India Village Industries and member of the WRI.

ESPECIALLY at this time of the year, people of Christendom turn their thoughts towards the Prince of Peace. We all desire peace and freedom from conflict but how few of us realise that the key to peace is in our own hands?

The present day totalitarian wars are largely due to economic causes. Articles of prime necessity that cross political boundaries are often the basis of violence. When we use such articles we contribute towards international conflict.

For instance, if Burma was held in political bondage for its Petroleum and we buy kerosene oil—a bye product—we become parties to holding down Burma in political slavery! How many of us realise this grave responsibility on our shoulders when we light an innocent looking kerosene lamp? Nevertheless, we are guilty of imperialism.

From TONY BISHOP, Editor of the Australian Peacemaker.

AT the Christmas season the thoughts of many Australians turn to the British homeland. And many are the messages sent from our country to Great Britain expressing remembrance of family ties. This is very right and proper.

Yet, as War Resisters, we of the Australian Section are conscious of other more important ties. Of the

intelligence can see that . . . I wish I could share their certainties. But I don't.

A truce?

THE bulletin of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship carries this month an interesting suggestion from the Union of Democratic Control, that some sort of truce should be promoted between the West and East, both sides agreeing to differ and both agreeing to recognise the other's sphere of influence. I am not sure that this in itself means much, but I am attracted by the programme which is attached to this proposal.

Taking advantage of the "truce," it is suggested that the Powers should concentrate their energies not on war preparations, but on the fight against famine and disease throughout the world.

This programme seems to me to embody a constructively pacifist purpose, and one which pacifists could usefully elaborate. I should not like the programme made conditional upon the "truce" proposal, however. I think it worth considering on its own intrinsic merits.

The Army, Navy and the Air Force are needed to make this kerosene oil readily available to us. How shall we absolve ourselves of this responsibility?

Gandhi's solution is to refrain from using such commodities especially of the nature of prime necessities—staple food and clothing—which form a component part of imperialistic foreign trade and find substitutes locally to fulfil our needs. Foreign trade there can and will be, but such must be in ascertained surpluses, comforts and luxuries. This is the foundation stone of his programme of self sufficiency and simple life. If we do not achieve this we shall always be heading for conflict and strife.

Are we prepared to follow this lead in the interests of international peace? Or shall we cling to the gospel of multiplicity of wants, cost weaker nations what it may?

From the wider "family."

So we are happy to have this opportunity of greeting readers of Peace News the world over. From the U.S. to India. From South Africa to Germany and the North.

For 1949 and the years ahead we send all War Resisters everywhere our good wishes. And we hope that the years will show more than this. That the growing consciousness of the strength of our International will lead to the closest co-operation in practical work and planning.

May greater strength come to our International. It has survived blows that might have obliterated a body less vital. In Australia we have been less exposed to cataclysm. But we can realise what it has meant, not only to organisations, but also to individual men and women. So our thoughts go out too, to the many individuals who have stood the test. We hope we shall be worthy of them.

The International has unique opportunities. From country to country the angle of vision varies. (Is the attitude of the U.S. member to Russia the same as that of the Finnish? Or the Italian's feeling about Britain like the Dane's?) Yet we know we may trust each other. We have a duty through this to test the results of our limited individual experience, and in mutual confidence to go ahead together. We may not avoid this responsibility. For in this we are able to foreshadow in part the only possible solution to the world's future.

And so across the world we greet you all. In faith, in work, in diversity, we are one.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

The advanced publication date of this issue made it necessary for Sybil Morrison to write her column before the Glasgow meeting, briefly reported in another column as a great success.

IT is no easy matter to persuade over 1,000 people to come to a peace meeting, but the Glasgow PPU with only £5 in its exchequer undertook this task when they booked the St. Andrew's Hall for Sunday, Dec. 19, and assumed responsibility for an expenditure of £90. This venture in faith was rewarded by a steady stream of donations amounting to £50 with promises of more.

The period of despondency which settled upon the PPU after some years of war, the scattering of members, some to prison, some to alternative service, the frustration of energy and hope by the increasing immorality and horror of war against which the Union seemed so helpless, did not pass Glasgow by. I remember in 1946 addressing 13 people at what was supposed to be a public meeting.

But I had a strong feeling that life would return, and when I met the Group last October I knew I had been right. It was only a small room in which we gathered but it was crowded, and the eager discussion and argument sent me away filled with confidence for the future.

PROPHETIC

As I write this in the train drawing nearer and nearer to Glasgow, I already picture the interior of St. Andrew's Halls as I shall see it on Sunday night when I come on the platform with Stuart Morris and Rhys Davis and I know a thousand people will hear a stirring pacifist message.

Campbell Wilkie, of the Glasgow Group, writes that this meeting is "a prelude to less flamboyant and more humdrum work. Already speakers have been sent to the Unitarian Church and to the Clarion Fellowship and an assault is planned on all organisations who invite outside speakers. Members are attempting to re-establish the pacifist club at the University and it is hoped to have regular open-air meetings in the summer despite a lack of experienced speakers." Those interested in the work of the Group should get in touch with Peter Hamilton, 296 Golfhill Drive, Glasgow, E.1.

I have been able to write at length about Glasgow's effort because they sent me their news. This is what I want from Groups for this column. I want from Groups for this column.

By the way, one of our Central Hall speakers, Mrs. Mabel Ridealgh MP, was brave enough to remind the Home Secretary in the House of Commons last Thursday when he refused to allow a Borstal prisoner leave from prison to marry the girl who is shortly to be the mother of his child, that it was Christmas time, the festival of remembrance of the birth of a child, and she declared forthrightly that regulations could and should be subject to considerations of humanity. In the end Mr. Chuter Ede gave his consent.

Mrs. Ridealgh is a pacifist and you can hear her at the Central Hall, Westminster on Friday, January 2.

BLACK SATURDAY NATIONAL PROTEST MEETING

Against the coming into force of the National Service (Conscription) Act on January 1st, 1949.

FRIENDS' HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1st, 1949—3 P.M.

Chairman: LORD EARINGDON

Speakers: Dr. A. D. BELDEN, RHYS J.

DAVIES, M.P., EMRY'S HUGHES

M.P., R. MORLEY, M.P.

Come and add your voice to the national

Protest against

THE BONDAGE OF BRITAIN'S YOUTH

Organised by the NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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